

season inspired. But Douglas died, and so did that purpose.

With a sagacity, a steadfastness, and a clearness of vision which, if employed in a good cause, would be of inestimable value, the Democratic party found that covert, narrow, and devious way which lay between loyalty and treason, and they pursued that way from the middle of the year 1862 to the end of the war, always avoiding the rebuke of their country's laws and also the reproach of their country's foes.

But even for this stunted measure of loyalty there may have been some excuse. It may have sprung from lack of faith and not from want of love. They professed to believe the rebellion invincible, and, if they really believed so, they could hardly be expected to display much zeal in a struggle they believed to be hopeless. The spirits are rare and very choice who lead a forlorn hope with anything like gaiety. But those who lead a real hope, no matter how forlorn, and do not merely follow a dread, are not apt to look so dismal as these Democrats did when the rebellion was finally crushed.

Possibly, however, even that singular defection was but the effect of mortification at their own misjudgment and want of prevision. But when the rebellion was crushed and they were invited to aid in removing its cause, as well as a cause for future rebellions, by abolishing slavery, they refused to do that! How can that refusal be excused or forgiven? The great act of emancipation, while it is the grandest in history, is also the least expensive. It cost nothing but a vote, yet even this they refused to give.

By simply writing "yes" upon their ballots, instead of "no," they knew they could give freedom to four millions of human beings. They were sure of victory if they said "yes;" they could only hope for victory if they said "no"—and yet they said "no." It was a mere question of volition. The question was squarely put to them after they had been led shuddering clear through the Red Sea and stood dry on the other shore—stood, too, in that marvelous blaze which irradiates the nineteenth century as it sinks into the twentieth—they were plainly asked "Are you willing the bond should be free?" and they said "no." When is that generation coming, and whence is it coming, that shall excuse or forgive that impious refusal?

And when, in spite of Democratic resistance the bond had been made free and secured against a return to slavery by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, this same opposition was asked once more, "May the freedmen become citizens and be admitted to civil rights?" And again the answer was "no."

And when, in spite of that resistance, the freedmen had been made citizens the Democracy was asked, "May these citizens, though they be black, have the protection of the ballot which the law benignly grants to all citizens, however humble, of every other color?" And again the answer was "no."

And when the Kuklux, armed with brand and bludgeon, hunted the new-made citizen by night, hunted him through swamps and pursued him to death—when the local authorities stood powerless in the presence of organized murder and arson, and this opposition was appealed to to lend the protection of the national tribunals to the victims of such incartate hate, they still mocked at such calamities and refused all relief.

It is often flippantly said that all these crimes and horrors are past, and it is absurd to attempt to maintain a political party on the memory of them. Perhaps so. But would it not be insane to trust a political party that could so readily forget them? It is not magnanimous, it is indeed hardly manly, to persecute men for sins of which they have really repented. But that is not repentance, it is hypocrisy, which professes to repent of sins and does not forsake them, but embraces worse ones. Such is the anomalous repentance displayed by the Democratic party. It never ceases to denounce the Republican party for what it has done or is trying to do, but it straightway thunders with fiercer denunciations of what the party has not done and is determined shall not be done. The moment Democrats forget to decry Republican policies they begin to belie Republican motives. For twenty years they deemed it sufficiently opprobrious to call Republicans "Radicals;" now they claim to be radicals themselves and denounce Republicans as rascals.

#### DEMOCRATIC PROMISES.

Since the early part of 1872 they have been diligently seeking to suborn renegade Republicans to turn states' evidence and to swear that all political virtue is in those discomfited forces which resisted the progress of the last decade, and all villainy is in the forces which marshaled that progress. To such witnesses they have lavishly offered honors, offices, dignities, presidencies, everything which could be made the subject of a promise.

To answer to any name; to profess every creed; to follow any flag; to sleep in any bed; to fraternize with all factions; and to offer a salute for every sore—such is the mission of the opposition to-day. Never before in politics was a lie enacted so transparent and so audacious as that paraded by the Democratic party in 1872, when they gravely introduced Horace Greeley to the people as their representative man. It is not possible such "signs and wonders" can "deceive the elect." So far they have failed to deceive even the electors.

If that party feels it to be unkind to remind it of its past career, how must it feel to be reminded of its present attitude? Once its members professed distinct principles; all that could be objected to them was that they professed

the worst principles extant. But bad as they were, they were more becoming than this utter abjuration of all principles. You may not like to employ, but you do not wholly despise, the zealot who consistently asserts that sarasapilla will cure every disease and so urges it upon every patient; but who can respect the charlatan who persistently cries to the sick, "give me your money and you may take what remedies you please?"

When in 1860 Democrats said, "Continue us in power and we will fleck the Territories with slavery;" when in 1864 they said, "restore us to power and we will barter with rebels, giving freedom for peace;" when in 1868 they said again, "restore us to power and we will abrogate three great amendments to the Constitution, secure government to white men, and return slavery to colored men," it could only be replied that such invitations were very unattractive. But when in 1872 they cried, "restore us to office once more and we will do everything that anybody wants done," the invitation was utterly repulsive. And when they supplement this brazen indifference to principle by a stolid indifference to truth; when, weary of opposing the measures of the majority, they combine to assail their characters; when they abandon false reasoning only to resort to false assertion, they exhibit an opposition hard if not impossible to parallel.

And yet that opposition, while it never was so bad, was never so dangerous as now. People can better judge the merits of a measure than the merits of a man. They can more readily detect a fallacious argument than a false statement. When the opposition denounced Republicans as misguided statesmen, the people could safely compare our measures with theirs, and judge which were best. But when they denounce Republicans as thieves it is not so easy to try the truth of the assertion. Besides two circumstances give slight color to that allegation. First, Republicans have possession of the Government, and have the best chance to speculate. Second, it has been the special labor of the present Administration to detect and punish speculation. Some cases have been found.

He was a great statesman, as well as a great poet, who made Cassius say:

"In such a time as this it is not meet That every nice offense should bear its comment."

However specious that theory may sound, many great rulers have been compelled in turbulent times to practice upon it. William III was an honest magistrate. He had a world to fight, and he was compelled to be very lenient toward the treasons of Godolphin and Marlborough. He was slow to punish the embezzlements of Torrington, and he never did punish the manifold rascalities of Orford. During the struggle and excitement which attended the rebellion some bad men found their way into public employments. Mr. Lincoln's administration was too much occupied with graver matters to keep strict watch of every individual offender. The administration which succeeded was quite as unprepared for that duty. Congress was then much absorbed in the great work of reconstruction, and the President was not happily fitted to criticize official misconduct. But the present Administration has no exemption from that work. If it is not attended to now, the Administration, and not the times, must be held responsible. But it is attended to. It is prosecuted with that inflexible energy which has characterized every labor led by President Grant. Some offenses have been exposed. And every time a rogue has been punished the opposition has shouted: "See how corrupt Republicans are!" It is as if, whenever a surgeon removes a tumor from his patient the mob should shout: "How very rotten the doctor must be!" So, this unflinching reform is prosecuted at the risk of this twofold peril: First, Every time we remove a rascal we lend plausibility to Democratic calumny. Second, Every time we punish one we make a Democrat. For a few years that party has been recruited, not only by those knaves we have dismissed from office, but by a still larger number who have been unable to get office. It is not impossible that by this process they may in time recover a majority. Good men can not, without uneasiness, contemplate the possibility of the country once more falling into the control of that party, when, in addition to the devils which always paralyzed it for any noble effort, it shall have been re-enforced by all the unclean spirits expelled from the Republican party.

**INTERNAL REFORM.**  
The success which has attended the effort of this Administration to effect internal reform is forcibly indicated, but only partially measured, by these facts: First, In thirteen years it has not once been forced to resort to loans except by the exigencies of war. Our rivals in popular favor, as has been seen, repeatedly resorted to loans in time of peace. Second, In six years taxes have been remitted at various times amounting to more than three hundred millions annually. Third, The principal of the public debt has been reduced in the same time by the sum of three hundred and fifty-five million dollars. Fourth, The Treasury note has been appreciated from 73-20 to 90-10, its gold value in March, 1869, to 90-20 per cent., its gold value in March last. Fifth, In spite of the financial disasters which overtook the country in September, 1873, the public debt was diminished nearly five millions during the fiscal year just ended.

Sixth, The cost of the Government, excluding expenditures for improvements and disbursements made necessary to meet obligations imposed on us by the rebellion, was less per capita during the last fiscal year than during the year ending June 30, 1860.

Bad men, doubtless, are still left in the Republican party, as bad men are in the Democratic party. So good men are in both parties. The difference is this: In spite of the bad men in the former, it has in thirteen years raised the country higher in true national greatness than any country was ever raised before in the same length of time; while, because of bad men in the other party, the country constantly declined in character and dignity while it had control. A party better than either, loftier in its aspirations, wiser in its methods, bolder in its endeavors, is unquestionably desirable. Such a party might be attained, if the wise, the upright, and the patriotic in the Democratic ranks would unite themselves with the like in the Republican organization. But it is impossible to frame such a party by re-enforcing the efforts of Democracy, which has not achieved a single noble end, nor set before the country a single noble aim in forty years, with all the reckless adventures and hungry place-hunters who in former years flocked to the Republican party, not to aid its enterprises, but to batten on its strength.

#### ELECT REPUBLICANS.

You are about to select Representatives to a new Congress. We earnestly entreat you to send the truest and ablest Republican you have. But we entreat you to send Republicans and not Democrats. You will send one or the other. No matter what the individual may call himself, or what disguise he may wear, he will be a Republican or a Democrat. There is at present no room for any other style in our politics. If you do not mean to retrace the past you will select Republicans and not Democrats. If you mean to go forward in the future, you will select Republicans and not Democrats.

#### OUR MISSION NOT ENDED.

It is sometimes said the mission of the Republican party is accomplished. If by that no more is meant than that the party has discharged every trust heretofore committed to it, we admit it. It has been thought when one was found faithful over a few things that was a good reason for trusting him with more things. Can you do better than be instructed by such an example? Especially since you must employ either the party which you say has fulfilled every trust, or employ that only other party which has betrayed every trust.

The occasion for political effort has not passed. American progress is not ended. Other labors lie before you, lighter perhaps, but not light.

First, You have to see that what is done shall not be undone. Republicanism offers you the best security against retrogression.

Second, You have to see that the work of reform goes forward. Three great labors demand your present consideration.

The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution is not yet enforced by "appropriate legislation." Millions of American citizens are denied even the common law rights of locomotion because they are black. If such wrongs are to be redressed, the Republican party alone can do it.

#### THE CURRENCY.

The currency is in an abnormal condition, and must be reformed. It is undoubtedly true that the Republican party is not agreed how to effect that reform. Neither is the Democratic party. Neither party, as such, yet sees clearly the right way. But there are two reasons for believing that the Republican party rather than its rival can best treat this great question of the finances:

1. As the former has, hitherto, found the true way through graver difficulties, so we believe it is more apt to find the true way through this.

2. You already have abundant assurance that when Republicans discover the true way they will pursue it. That assurance has not as yet been given by the other party.

3. The Republican party in the future, as in the past, will see to it that the national credit suffers no detriment and that the national honor is preserved.

#### INTERNAL COMMERCE.

Our internal commerce demands additional and less expensive facilities. The volume of that commerce has grown in these lusty times to enormous proportions. Great as has been the increase of transportation facilities since the advent of the Republican party, they have not kept pace with the demand for them. Not only do immense bulks seek movement, but they require to be moved over vast distances. The surplus products of those almost unlimited basins—that between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains and that between the latter range and the Sierra Nevada—require to be dipped out into the ocean on either side. Production is not only vast in amount, but it is so unequally distributed!

Of the spring wheat grown in the United States, Wisconsin and Iowa raise nearly one-half. Of the winter wheat, Indiana and Ohio produce nearly one-third. Of the corn raised, Illinois alone grows one-sixth. Of the tobacco, Kentucky raises nearly one-half. Nine States raise nearly all the cotton consumed in this country, and much of that consumed in Europe.

The cotton fabrics manufactured in the United States in 1870 were valued at one hundred and fifty-seven millions. Of those fifty-nine millions were manu-

factured in Massachusetts. Of course the distribution of these and the great variety of other commodities necessitates a vast amount of transportation. Eleven States occupying the Mississippi valley send to market annually a surplus of its cereal products equal to 800,000,000 bushels.

To cheapen the carriage of that single commodity by the amount of only ten cents per bushel is a saving of thirty millions to the people.

Various expedients have been suggested for lessening the cost of transportation. In some of the States it has been proposed to place railway fares and freights under the control of the State. The objections to that expedient are so serious that it should not be embraced, if a better one can be found. This country is so new, so raw, and so undeveloped, the demands for capital are so many and so urgent, that any policy which would tend to drive capital from us should be avoided if possible. The State is but the aggregate of the people in the State.

The people are the purchasers of transportation.

The railway companies have transportation to sell.

The law also holds railroad companies to be common carriers, and so bound to carry for all when the price is paid. It is now a mooted question whether that price shall be named by the companies or by the people—the sellers or the purchasers of the article. Which of these two parties is legally authorized to fix that price is probably determined by the laws under which the several companies are organized; but which of them can in fact fix it is a different question.

It is manifest that if the company be allowed to fix the price they may demand too much. Venders of all commodities are very apt to want all they can get. On the contrary, if the people or their agents fix the price they may set it too low. Purchasers are very apt to want commodities as cheap as they can be had. It is not probable that either party to the transaction would always hit upon the exact equivalent. The consequences of a mistake would probably be found most injurious, if made by the people. If the company makes the mistake, and charges too much, no one is obliged to employ it. The producer does his own carrying before the railway is built. He has the perfect right to do so after it is built. So, every company is compelled by the laws of trade, even if municipal law is silent, to carry products cheaper than the producer can carry them, or he will not have them to carry. The company must also carry them at a profit to the producer, else the product will cease. The farmers of Iowa will send no wheat to Chicago, unless the roads will transport it at prices which will yield a profit to the producer.

The carrier must earn money for the producer as well as for himself, else he will soon have nothing to carry. It is as absurd for the railways to demand more for transportation than the producer can afford to pay as it was for the man in the fable to endeavor to get two golden eggs each day from his hen—the attempt to do so was death to the hen.

Under favorable conditions, indeed, the carrier may demand and receive more than a fair share of the profits of production. Where such is the case, when the State finds the producer makes but ten per cent., while the carrier makes fifteen or twenty per cent., it is very easy and perfectly legitimate for it to say to the company: "The work you do can be done for less money; we will pay you for your road what it will cost to build such another, or you may keep your road and we will build another." So the people are not helpless against exorbitant charges.

On the contrary, if the people set the price, and set it too low, the consequences may be graver. The company has no option. It must accept the price named or not run. If the rates named will afford a slight return on the capital, existing companies may continue to run, but no more capital will encounter like risks. If the rates will yield no return, the road can not be run. Company and community, in that case, are alike ruined. This expedient seems to be too hazardous to adopt, if a better can be found.

Another expedient is to build a double track railway between the Mississippi and the Atlantic over which any party may run trains, and all trains to run with the same rate of speed. This is worthy of careful consideration.

The practicability of relief through governmental action is being ascertained by an able commission constituted by a recent act of Congress.

A third expedient, and the most important of all, is that proposed by the Senate Committee on "Transportation Routes to the Seaboard." That proposes to open or enlarge several different water channels between the Mississippi and the Atlantic. We invite your earnest and careful consideration of that proposal. It is asserted that by an expenditure of twenty millions per year for six or seven years new channels may be opened which will lessen the cost of transporting the grain product of the Mississippi valley alone in the sum of \$42,000,000 annually. The figures are startling, but are far from improbable. The expenditure proposed seems large but compared with the resources of the people it is trifling. The wealth of the nation is not less than thirty thousand millions. He who has an estate of thirty thousand dollars can not be distressed by paying twenty dollars a year for six years. Besides, a nation which has spent three thousand millions of treasure and an

ocean of life for peace will not hesitate to spend \$120,000,000 for prosperity.

But whatever may or may not be expedient to be done, this much seems certain: If the National Government is to do anything whatever to cheapen transportation, only the Republican party can be relied upon to do it. The Democratic party has forsaken all such labors. Long ago they determined the Constitution would not permit the Government to remove an obstruction from a harbor or a river. It is vain to suppose they will find now authority to build canals or construct railways. But we are not left in doubt as to their present dispositions. Two votes given during the past session, one in the Senate on Mr. Windom's amendment to the river and harbor bill, and one in the House on Mr. McCrary's railway bill, will prove, beyond all doubt, that the Democrats, like the Bourbons, have learned nothing good, even if they have forgot anything bad.

Upon all these considerations, for all these reasons, we think you should send Republicans and not Democrats to the next Congress. If you cherish the deeds of the recent past, and would not see them undone; if you respect the present, and would not disgrace it; or if you have hope of the future, and would realize that hope, we urge you to send Republicans, and not Democrats to the next Congress.

**JOHN A. LOGAN,**  
Z. CLARK,  
A. H. CRAIG,  
EDWARD HALL,  
GEO. W. HENDER,  
HENRY L. PIERCE,  
J. M. FENDELTON,  
H. H. STARKWEATHER,  
THOS. C. PLATT,  
MARCOUS L. WARD,  
SHERMAN CARRISON,  
WM. J. ALBERT,  
JOHN F. LEWIS,  
C. L. COOK,  
RICHARD H. WHITELY,  
GEO. E. SPENCER,  
GEO. H. KINGS,  
J. H. WEST,  
J. S. BERRY,  
H. M. THOMPSON,  
JOHN COBBIN,  
N. F. CRITMAN,  
H. E. HAYES,  
S. B. CONOVER,  
J. W. FLATAGAN,  
JAMES WILSON,  
G. W. HAZLETON,  
S. O. HODGSON,  
J. B. LOVELAND,  
H. B. STRAIT,  
J. H. MITCHELL,  
S. A. COOK,  
A. I. BOREMAN,  
WM. M. SEWART,  
P. W. HYTCOCK,  
POWELL CLAYTON,  
S. B. CHAPMAN,  
R. C. MCJUNKIN,  
S. B. ELKINS.

Union Republican Congressional Committee.

#### Departmental.

##### THE NEW POSTAL LAW.

The post office bill passed by the last session of Congress makes the following changes in the postal laws:

**Newspaper and Periodical Postage.**—On and after January 1, 1875, newspapers and periodicals mailed from the office of publication to be paid in advance by weight at the following rates: Issued weekly or oftener, 2 cents a pound and fraction thereof; less frequently 3 cents. To be weighed in bulk and paid by attaching a special adhesive stamp, prepared for the purpose, to the package, or as the Postmaster General may direct. One copy of each newspaper to actual subscribers to go free in the county where they are printed in whole or in part.

**Other Mailable Matter.**—The new law makes a uniformity in all matter other than letters, newspapers, and periodicals, limits the packages to four pounds, at one cent for each two ounces.

**Salaries of Postmasters.**—The new law fixes the salaries of first, second, and third-class offices on a new basis, according to the receipts of the same. Postmasters of the fourth-class to be paid by a commission on the receipts and the full receipts from post office box rents.

##### THE NEW PENSION LAWS.

The following changes in the pension laws were made during the last session of Congress:

**Total Disability—Increase of Pension.**—All persons who while in the military or naval service who were so permanently and totally disabled as to require the regular presence, aid, and attendance of another person, to have their pensions increased from \$30 25 to \$50 per month, commencing June 4, 1874.

**Partial Disability—Increase of Pension.**—Persons who are now entitled to pensions under existing laws, and who have lost either an arm or above the elbow, or a leg at or above the knee, shall be rated in the second class, and shall receive twenty-four dollars per month, commencing June 4, 1874.

In order to obtain the benefit of this act pensioners have only to return their certificates, accompanied by a letter giving their post-office address, no formal application being required. No medical examination will be ordered, excepting in cases where the evidence on file fails to show the point of amputation.

**Pensions Granted Under Special Acts.**—Persons entitled to pensions under special acts fixing the rate of such pensions, and now receiving or entitled to receive a less pension than that allowed by the general pension laws under like circumstances, are, in lieu of their present rate of pension, hereby declared to be entitled to the benefits and subject to the limitations of the general pension laws.

Pensioners who were on the roll by special act, the act fixing the rate of their pension, were debarred from increase under the general pension laws. The above act places this class of pensioners on the same footing as other pensioners, so far as rating is concerned, but does not grant arrears, the increase dating from June 4, 1874. The return of the pension certificate to the Pension Bureau, accompanied by a letter giving post-office address, is all that is necessary.

##### BOUNTY CLAIMS.

By Congressional act the time for filing additional bounty claims has been extended to January 30, 1875.

**NEW MONEY-ORDER OFFICES.**—Nearly 400 additional money-order offices have been established, distributed over the several States, in places where increasing business required this convenience.

#### Political Common Sense.

When human nature attains perfection we may look for a political party without faults. The best organization ever devised by man has had its weak points. Even the church, an organization where purity and excellence should be found, if anywhere on earth, has its shadows which at times darken the light of its holy teachings. Yet no one abandons the church because a few of its followers prove unworthy of its name and become stumbling blocks in the path of religious truth; a few fall but the many press on, holding aloft the standard of truth. The ignorant and vicious may sneer at the church because its robes cover at times a hypocrite and rascal, but the intelligent and virtuous look, not to the one who disgraces himself by falling short of his profession, but to the ninety and nine who add to its glory by living upright and Christian lives. What we are apt to call the faults of the church are simply the shortcomings of a few of its members. The church is no more responsible for them than the sun is responsible for the clouds that occasionally darken the earth. Its teachings tend to elevate, purify, and if practiced by all would transform a world of wickedness into a perfect garden of love, peace, and benevolence. But in the face of human depravity we must accept things as we find them. We must bear with the faults of our neighbors, remembering our own. We must do the best we can. Perfection is beyond our reach—improvement within it. To so live that by our example we shall do good, elevate mankind, make the earth better for our having lived and acted, is the sum and substance of man's duty to himself, his country, and his God.

As it is with the church and all moral organizations so it is with political parties. We must judge them, in the aggregate, by the results they produce on the community, State, and nation. It is possible for bad men to creep into power in a good party, and equally possible for good men to be found within the compass of a bad party. There is no rule known by which the one can be kept out or the other prevented from staying in. A thief may break into a sanctuary and despoil its altar; a saint may labor in a prison in hopes of converting its inmates. We may punish the one when caught, and urge the other to extend his labors of love, but the facts remain the same, and can not well be changed. To judge the Republican party by the character of a few rascals that have been caught plundering its altar would be as just and sensible as to sit in judgment over the Creator because a few of his children have gone astray. Never since the birth of the nation has a party been as quick and willing to investigate whatever had the appearance of wrong, and to punish with even-handed justice the wrong-doer, as the Republican party. It has carried this spirit of justice far beyond the demands of political necessity, and has been censured by its own friends for prosecuting its investigations beyond the requirements of its inveterate enemies. But it stands justified before all men for the purity of its intentions. It came into power to watch over and preserve the Government, and it has never lost sight of its original mission. We challenge the political history of the world for a party of equal merit; for a party that has done so much to elevate mankind and secure personal liberty; for a party that has left so broad an impress for justice and humanity on the civilization of the age in which it had existence. To permit ambitious politicians, sordid statesmen, or the open and avowed enemies of the Republic to break up this grand organization would be to welcome a calamity whose approach would be ruin, whose presence would be death to our peace and prosperity, whose end no man is wise enough to forecast. It matters little whether it falls before the sword of Democracy or goes down by the treacherous blows of those it thought its friends; its fall will be the same—the breaking down of the only loyal barrier that guards the liberties of the people from the encroachment of that despotic power that once held in the chains of slavery four million human beings.

We would sound the alarm throughout the length and breadth of the land. We would summon every Republican and every true friend of liberty to their post of duty. Our enemies are active, unscrupulous, determined by threats or promises to break up the party that saved the nation and that now defends its honor and its integrity. Every shade of opposition is being united; little faults are being distorted into glaring wrongs; the peccolations of a single official are being held up as the rule of conduct on the part of all; and if our friends are not earnest and watchful the noblest party of modern times will be overwhelmed by this foul tide of misrepresentation and falsehood. As we judge the tree by its fruits, so we judge the party by the fruits which it has borne, and is still bearing, for advancing civilization. Do we seek reform, it has the power to bring it about. Do we seek continued development of national wealth, its past career is the best assurance that we shall have it. Do we desire peace, freedom, and all the blessings conferred by self-government, it is the only party that can bestow them and protect us in their enjoyment.

General Francis A. Walker, late Superintendent of the Census, who was charged by the Forty-second Congress with the preparation of a statistical atlas as an appendix to the ninth census, will complete his labors in a month or two. The work will be unique, and will probably be as eagerly sought after as the original volumes of the census.